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patterns of adjustment with the outside world and the degree of influence and prestige in the wider rural community that any attempt to combine them would be tantamount to overlooking significant sociological facts. The residents of the large villages look upon themselves as the leaders of the rural community, regarding those from smaller villages as a little less civilized and those from small hamlets as rustics. The man from the smaller village is suspicious and critical about the ways of the people from bigger villages, but he has in his heart of hearts an admiration and respect for them. To him also the people living in still smaller settlements appear to be rather crude and rustic. As the division of labour in the community is governed to a very great extent by traditional caste occupations, and co-operative labour of a number of different castes is required not only for agricultural activities, but also for socio-religious life, the large village, having within its population all the occupational castes, has a comparatively more integrated and self-sufficient economic and socio-religious life than the smaller villages, which, in the absence of one or more occupational castes, may have to depend on some other settlement. Because of its multi-caste constitution, larger population and greater complexity of internal problems, the organization of the larger village is often remarkably different from that of smaller villages. In fact, some of the smaller villages and hamlets come to be regarded as appendages of the larger villages, and although they have considerable autonomy in domestic matters they are very greatly influenced by the views and preferences of their larger neighbour.

The ethnic and linguistic composition of a village, as well as its caste constitution, also determines its character. The structure, ethos and problems of a wholly tribal village will be very different from those of a village with a mixed or homogeneous population. A tribal village is often unitary in respect of its authority structure, the tribal authority itself being supreme in secular, ritual and cultural village matters. On the other hand, in the case of a village which has a mixed population of tribes on the one hand and Hindu castes on the other, or of two different groups of parallel Hindu castes separated from each other by the fact that they speak different languages and belong to different culture-areas, or of Hindus and Muslims, the nature of its internal organization and authority is bound to be different. If the diverse elements of its population have equal strength—numerical as well as economic—

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munities from different parts of the country covering the many divergent patterns of organization and ethos. Until this is done our picture of social systems in rural India will remain vague and inadequate.

From the old ethnographic surveys and some preliminary studies published recently, an outline of the structure and organization of Indian villages is beginning to emerge clearly. Notwithstanding many significant differences, they have a number of structural similarities. In the north, middle and peninsular India, as well as in the eastern and western parts of the country, the following features characterize a very large number of villages.

1. As a territorial, as well as social, economic and ritual unit, the village is a separate and distinct entity. The residents of this settlement recognize their corporate identity, and it is recognized as such by others. It is not uncommon to find in them a sentiment of attachment towards their own settlement site. In several matters the village acts as a unit.

2. These settlements have a composite population comprising a number of groups belonging to different Hindu castes, and in some cases to tribes as well as to other religious groups. As far as the Hindu section of the population goes, these diverse groups are inter-dependent and integrated in the social, economic, ritual and administrative organization of the community. No caste alone is self-sufficient, for it requires the services of several other occupational castes which hold the monopoly of certain crafts and professions. This system of co-operative labour, based on a pattern of inter-caste relations approved by tradition, is not confined only to economic activities but also extends to ceremonial and ritual life. The hierarchical organization of castes within the community is so fixed in the structural patterns of rural India that the tribal as well as the non-Hindu (such as Muslim and Christian) segments of the population come to be regarded as other castes in the village.

In many parts of India, while maintaining their socio-religious identity, several of these non-Hindu groups have acquired some caste characteristics, particularly occupational specialization. For example, in some areas of rural India the Muslims function as an occupational caste variously, making fireworks, weaving, driving *tongas*, *ikkahs* and other hackney-carriages, selling vegetables or playing musical instruments.

3. The members of this local group are bound together by ties

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2. THE PEOPLE

According to the census of 1951, the total population of Shamirpet, which included the two neighbouring hamlets of Babuguda and Upparpalli, was 2,494, with a total of 508 houses. The following table shows the distribution of the population according to religion:

1. Hindus.	A. Clean castes	1,434
	B. Untouchables or Scheduled castes .	680
2. Muslims		340

The predominant language in Shamirpet is Telugu, the main language of Telangana and Andhra-desa. It is known as 'the Italian of the East' and is praised for its sonorous and lyrical qualities and possesses a vast literature, both classical and modern. However, the dialect of Telugu, which is spoken in Shamirpet, and generally in the countryside, is criticized by the more sophisticated Andhras for its harshness and rustic accent. In the census of 1951, 2,008 persons in this village were recorded as speaking Telugu, while 340 persons were recorded as speaking Urdu, which was until 1948 the official language of Hyderabad administration. These figures are, however, misleading, and make reference only to the mother-tongue. In practice most men in the village are bi-lingual; those whose mother-tongue is Telugu have at least a smattering of Urdu, and of the 340 Urdu speakers at least half possess a working knowledge of Telugu. As a generalization it may be stated that knowledge of the mother-tongue alone is confined only to women, although several women among both the Hindus and the Muslims are also bi-lingual.

Thus the two major divisions in the population of the village may be distinguished on the grounds of religion and language. Culturally also the Hindus and Muslims stand in marked contrast to each other.

The Hindus of Shamirpet can be classed under three broad divisions:

1. Cultivators.
2. Occupational castes, with traditional crafts and professions regarded as clean and respectable.
3. Depressed classes, subsisting by humble and lowly callings.

In the first group we can place the following castes: the Reddi, the Muttarasi, and their subdivisions. These groups are often

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463 564 referred to as 'the Kapu' or agricultural castes. As this name suggests, they derive the major part of their subsistence by tilling the land, although individuals from any of these groups may engage in trade and commerce or may take up urban occupations.

In the second group we can place the following: the Brahmin (priests), the Komti (traders), the Kummari (potters) and the Golla (shepherds). The five sections of the Panch Bramha group of artisan castes, that is, the Wadla (carpenters), the Kammari (blacksmiths), the Ausula (goldsmiths), the Kase (workers in bell-metal) and the Kanchari (sculptors), also belong to this group —although they claim separate identity and are rather exclusive. The Sale (weavers), the Gaondha (toddy-tappers), the Sakali (washermen) and the Mangali (barbers) also follow their traditional occupations; and although in the hierarchy of caste organization their place is a little inferior to the castes mentioned above, they belong to the second group for the purpose of our classification. The position of the once-tribal but now largely assimilated Vaddar (stone-breakers) and the Erkala (hunters and basket-makers) is slightly different, for although they are not untouchables their position among the clean castes is the lowest.

564 783 [641] There are only two untouchable or depressed castes in Shamirpet, the Mala and the Madiga. Of these two, the Malas consider themselves superior to the Madigas, by whose touch they are polluted. However, it should be pointed out that the Indian constitution has abolished untouchability. The untouchable castes can draw water from the public wells and can without discrimination share the public utilities with the clean castes. Their children now freely attend the common village school. But social conservatism dies hard and legislation alone cannot overnight change the deep-rooted complexes of thought and behaviour which are the heritage of many generations of a caste-ridden social system. [583] Caste still retains its endogamous character, and traditional rules prohibit inter-dining with persons of lower castes. Thus in these two spheres at least the untouchable castes have still to confine themselves to their narrow circles. While in the cities the clean castes are no longer sensitive to the touch of a person belonging to these castes, in the countryside an untouchable still cannot approach too close to clean-caste people lest they be polluted by a chance physical contact. Some progressive-minded untouchables

non-Aryan groups was taking place in Indian society and Hinduism was consolidating itself. The highly organized craftsmen's guilds of those days may perhaps have succeeded in maintaining their integrity and exclusiveness for a long time, but had ultimately to yield; yet the tension created by their resistance remained, and even when they were absorbed into the fold of Hindu society they were not admitted as equals to the groups of comparable social status and in consequence probably continued to maintain their age-long exclusiveness.

All the castes whose relative positions in the caste-hierarchy have been shown in the accompanying table are endogamous. There is a permanent social distance between them; the individual is born into a caste, and a subsequent change in status is, except to the very lowest strata of society, equally impossible upwards or downwards.[1] In general it may be said that people accept food at the hands of all castes occupying a higher level in this hierarchy, the only exception being that of the Vaddar, who do not accept food from the highly placed Sakali and Mangali. Without exception people on a higher level refuse food from those on a lower level. Each caste has a traditional occupation sanctioned by religion, and these monopolies should not be infringed upon, except in the case of agriculture, which all may pursue.

Mention should here be made of the Jangam and the Katike castes, of each of which there is one family in Shamirpet. The Jangam are a semi-priestly caste ritually attached to the Baljas, for whom they tie the 'lingam'—a phallic symbol representing Shiva—and function as priests on the occasion of weddings. On the days of *Pitra Moksha Amavasya*[2] and *Shivaratri*,[3] they visit Hindu houses, particularly of those peasants who follow the Shaivite[4]

[1] When a person is excommunicated or out-casted he is not down-graded and pushed into a lower caste; he is merely denied the privileges of equal participation in the socio-religious life of the community.

[2] The night of the New Moon in the Hindu month of Bhadrapada (August–September).

[3] The day on which Shiva is believed to have drunk the world's poison, retaining it in his throat, and thereby saving mankind from possible harm from this poison.

[4] Of the great gods of the Hindu 'trinity' Brahma is not worshipped because of his sinful infatuation for his own daughter, whilst Vishnu and Shiva are worshipped. Those who principally worship the former, usually in his incarnations as Rama and Krishna, are known as Vaishnava; those worshipping the latter as Shaiva or Shaivite. Cf. Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology* (London, 1950), pp. 56–59, 296–300, 360–362.

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living in Shamirpet is the Madiga. The various sections of the Madiga community have their own special functions which are of great significance for the social life and culture of the caste. The Nulka Sandayya are said to be the descendants of Jamavanta,[1] who is believed to be the founder of the entire Madiga caste. The Baindlas are the marriage priests of the Madigas. Of the Sindus, the men are the minstrels of the Madigas and have the function of reciting the sacred caste legends and enacting them in the form of folk-drama; while the women are the prostitutes of the community. The Mashto earn their living by giving acrobatic displays. The Dakkal are the lowest of all Madiga sections and are distinguished by their customary refusal to take food from any non-Madiga. The Brahmin, who is at the apex of the caste-hierarchy, refuses to partake of food at the hands of anyone with a social status lower than his own, in effect from any but his own caste-fellows. And it is a juxtaposition that the lowest of the low castes refuses food from all communities of the higher levels, including the Brahmins.

Each independent endogamous division is divided into exogamous *gotram*; these in turn may be further subdivided into numerous *vansham*. The main function of these divisions is the regulation of marital unions. A person cannot marry in his own *gotram*; he must marry in some other *gotram* bearing a different name. Different *gotram* may have a number of common *vansham*, and as marriage between persons of the same *vansham* is forbidden, one must marry not only outside one's *gotram* but in a different *vansham* also. If a person of one's own *vansham* dies, one must observe ceremonial mourning for ten days. These subdivisions seem to perform no other special function. The enumeration of the various *gotram* and *vansham* is difficult and would only result in long and tedious lists running to forty and fifty names, and will not here be given.

The diagram shown opposite will illustrate the organization of the endogamous sub-castes *gotram* and *vansham* within the wider social unit of caste in the area under study.

In the diagram each sub-caste is endogamous; and as such a person born in unit 1 must marry within that unit, and so also persons in units 2, 3 and 4 must confine their marital relations to their respective units only. But each of these units is divided into a

[1] A conspicuous figure playing a significant role in the epic of *Ramayana*.

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614 sexual union of any type between the two is regarded as a kind of incest. It has already been pointed out that these units have no functions beyond those mentioned above and have no common organization, authority or ceremonial distinctively belonging to them.

564 Although in general we can regard Shamirpet as fairly representative of Telangana villages, some Telugu-speaking castes which play an important part in rural Telangana are not to be found in the village; and it will be perhaps advantageous to make a passing reference to some of these castes here. The Velma are a rich agricultural caste more or less equal in status to the Reddis. The Kamma are another caste of the Kapu group who inter-dine with the Reddi, but they are regarded as equals of the lower clean caste groups. The Balja traders are Shaivite Hindus whose status is regarded as being a little higher than that of the Komti. The Gandla works the oil press, and his status is similar to that of the Sale and the Gaondla. The Yenadi, who in some parts of Telangana act as village guards, are in status equal to the Erkala. The Lambada provide a colourful though somewhat alien element in the population of Telangana. In language, dress and ornament they stand out from the rest of the people of Telangana. Their northern origin is clear both from their physical appearance and from their [291] language. The dress of the Lambada woman is picturesque. Her multi-coloured skirt (*lahanga*), tight bodice (*choli*) and upper covering (*odhni*) are elaborately embroidered and worked with [301] appliquéd mirror. Her ornaments are heavy and distinctive, and their tinkling sound lends an air of romance to the dusty roads of the countryside. There is a Lambada settlement some six miles from Shamirpet and they are a common sight on the nearby road.

564 Mention should also be made of three wandering caste groups—
161 the Balsantanam, the Sharda-galu and the Dasari. The Balsan-
463 tanam live in small, low, portable huts and move from village to village. They weave mats, sing songs and legends, and beg from village cultivators. The Sharda-galu are professional story-tellers and earn their livelihood by reciting the legends of their vast repertoire. Similarly, the Dasari are country dramatists who contribute towards the entertainment of the villagers by performing folk plays. Members of many of the castes mentioned above make occasional appearances in Shamirpet.

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CHAPTER THREE

Economic Structure

1. CASTE IN VILLAGE ECONOMY

The functional basis of the Indian caste system is generally well understood, but the integration of the different castes into the economic pattern of the rural community organization of India is not so well known. The occupations and functions of the different castes are not wholly exclusive, but the economic system of rural India is founded mainly on their functional specialization and interdependence. For example, agriculture is mainly the task of the Kapu group of castes, but all other castes—both high and low—can cultivate land, if they have any, besides following their traditional occupation. Similarly, trading was originally the function of the Komti caste, but now several other castes have also taken to it. However, a large number of crafts and occupations in rural India still remain the monopoly of different castes. A non-Brahmin cannot officiate as a priest for any of the higher castes. No one other than a Kummari will follow the profession of a potter. The Mangali alone would do the barber's work. Carpentry and working in metals are the monopoly of the Panch Bramha group of castes in Telangana. Only the Madiga will dispose of dead cattle and undertake to do leather-work. Castes other than the Sakali would not think of doing the washerman's work. Tradition has given to each group a definite position in the structure of the community, and with that position also goes a definite economic function which is the major source of livelihood for that group. As agriculture is the mainstay of the rural economy of India, the crafts and occupations of the countryside are generally integrated with it. A brief analysis of the economic role of the different castes would give us a clear idea of the

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463 economic system of the community and also of the place occupied in it by the various castes.

Most of the castes have a major craft or occupation which is their traditional monopoly. Besides this they are free to exploit certain other subsidiary sources of livelihood also. The Brahmin, besides functioning as the village priest, may also cultivate his land. The potter, the barber and the washerman occupy themselves mainly with their respective professions, but there is nothing to prevent them from accepting occasional work as field labourers. [464] In fact, during the busy agricultural season, when there is a heavy demand on the limited labour supply of the local group, efforts are made to persuade the artisan caste to send their womenfolk to work in the fields for daily wages. Notwithstanding this, a caste is identified with some occupation or other, and established social usage largely governs the modes of practice of this particular occupation.

In the chapter on Social Structure mention has been made of the fourteen village menials who work as semi-government functionaries, generally in return for the grant of a piece of rent-free land by the government. Their work lies mainly in the fields of their caste monopolies. It comprises personal services to touring government officials, as well as certain routine duties for the village as a whole.

437 463 A closer scrutiny of the economic system and its consequent bonds of mutual obligation and expectation reveals four major types of economic dealings and obligations within the caste network into which the community is organized. These are:

(i) Obligations to render to the agriculturists occupational services having a direct bearing on their agricultural activities. No immediate payment is expected for services of this kind. The agriculturists get their ploughs and other implements repaired by the carpenter every year as a matter of routine. Periodically the carpenter supplies new implements. In return for this, twice every year the cultivator gives a share to the carpenter when the crops are harvested. Services of an agricultural nature are generally expected and rendered on this basis. The extent of both the service and the payment is generally fixed by tradition, and depends very much on the size of the holding which the agriculturist is cultivating. Some castes offer their occupational services, even of a non-agricultural nature, to the agriculturists on the tacit understand-

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ing that they too will have their share after the crops are harvested. Thus, the potter periodically supplies the agriculturist with earthenware and pots for his normal requirements. The barber does the hair-cutting and shaving of the members of the agriculturist's family on this basis. The washerman, too, follows this rule in so far as established cultivators of the village are concerned.

(ii) Obligations to render some occupational services, to the agriculturists as well as to many non-agriculturists, having a bearing on their socio-religious life. Castes such as the barber, the washerman, the carpenter and the potter, and the Madiga have definite functions in the rites and ceremonies connected with the major crises of life. These are performed by them as a matter of routine, without any direct negotiations regarding the wages that they may expect in return for their services. Convention has fixed the basic minimum, and in the course of ritual duties, at different points, a part of this payment has to be made. Depending on their status and financial position, people pay something more for these services at the completion of the ceremony.

(iii) Obligations to render some occupational services to other occupational castes in return for their traditional services. As an example, it may be pointed out that a barber will attend to the grooming of hair and shaving of the members of a weaver's family to which he is attached. No cash payment is either expected or made. However, every year the weaver will give him a few yards of cloth and possibly a *sari* or two for his wife.

(iv) Occupational services rendered with an expectation of cash payment in return for the work. Casual visitors to the village can get the services of the barber only when they pay cash. For making a bullock cart, or for preparing timber for use in the construction of a house, a carpenter would first settle his wages and then undertake to do the work. In this respect he would not make an exception even in the case of established cultivators to whose households his family may have been attached for several years, even for decades. The Vaddar stone-workers also usually undertake an assignment only when the obligations on both sides are settled.

For most of the castes economic dealings falling in category (iv), described above, are of a casual nature, though their economic returns through them may be quite substantial. With a few exceptions, most of the castes have to accept a basis of reciprocity in

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241 Out of a total of 3,765 acres of land under cultivation, the residents of Shamirpet are cultivating approximately 3,000 acres.

TABLE II

463

Craft or profession	*Total number of families*	*Total number of persons*	*Men*	*Women*	*Children*	*Number of people actually working*
1. Potters	5	21	6	7	8	14
2. Carpenters	4	15	5	5	5	5
3. Blacksmiths	4	28	8	11	9	8
4. Washermen	7	31	7	8	16	18
5. Toddy-tappers	16	99	29	34	36	53
6. Shepherds	21	108	31	42	35	69
7. Barbers	2	11	2	4	5	8
8. Goldsmiths	2	13	4	6	3	4
9. Stone-breakers	3	16	5	5	6	10
10. Erkala hunters	5	16	6	6	4	11
11. Traders and Shop-keepers	13	81	22	22	37	27
12. Government servants	46	211	70	60	81	90
13. Others	7	33	10	12	11	14

423 An analysis of the pattern of land-ownership in the village reveals the following:

i. A fourth of the land is owned by 1 family having 800 acres.
ii. A fourth of the land is owned by 8 families having 100 acres each.
iii. A fourth of the land is owned by 20 families having 40 acres each.
iv. A fourth of the land is owned by 160 families having 5 acres each.

The headman of the village is the biggest single land-owner. He belongs to the Reddi caste which is the dominant section of the group of agricultural castes in this area. The second category includes, besides the Reddis, two Muslims—one of whom is the Patwari of the village. Even in the third category approximately 40% of the land is held by the Reddis; the rest being shared by

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511 vegetables, salt, spices and fats—increases steadily. The 'rich' and the 'well-to-do' spend more on clothes and ornaments: on the lower levels expenditure on these items is proportionately less. Similarly expenditure on feasts and ceremonies is proportionately higher in the two upper levels and lower in the poorer sections. Maintenance and repairs of the house and all immovable property other than agricultural land, cattle and implements necessitate a higher percentage of expenditure on each higher level successively. This is accounted for by the fact that on the lower levels people do most of this work themselves, and do not hire any labour. It appears rather paradoxical that the 'average' and 'poor' people spend proportionately more on 'luxuries', but this can be explained by the fact that tobacco and liquor are included under this head and most people in the village are addicted to the habits of smoking and drinking. Finally, under the head 'miscellaneous' —which includes expenditure on entertainments, recreation, medicine and other unforeseen domestic expenses—the 'poor' spend the least, and on each higher level the expenditure is greater.

The visible manifestations of a family's standard of living are: type of dwelling and household possessions, clothing and ornaments, nature of work done by the members of the family and diet. Brief reference has already been made to the different types of dwellings and their average possessions. In a general way it can be said that a house and its belongings indicate the owner's standard of living. Gold and silver ornaments as well as expensive clothes are regarded as marks of superior economic status. Brahmins, Komtis, rich Reddis and well-to-do Muslims are expected 'to wear clothes befitting their status'. Persons belonging to lower castes, particularly untouchables, are criticized for imitating the dress-styles of the higher castes, and even when they acquire wealth they are expected to continue the traditional style of clothing suitable for their humble social status.

In the next two sections we shall examine the division of labour and differences in diet on the four levels of living in the community.

3. WORK: DIVISION OF LABOUR

463 Division of labour in the community is governed by a variety of factors. Important among them are: caste, sex, age and social status.

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LEVELS OF LIVING

Caste is an important and rigid determinant of division of labour. Under this system several occupations have been preserved as caste monopolies, while some are 'open' and may be adopted by persons belonging to all castes. This system of division of labour by occupation has been examined at some length in Chapter III.

The factors of sex, age and social status govern the division of labour in nearly all types of work in the community. First, 'masculine' and 'feminine' pursuits are clearly distinguished: a woman doing man's work is laughed at; a man undertaking any specifically feminine tasks provides a favourite theme for popular gossip. Household work, agricultural activities, traditional craft or occupation of the family, and socio-religious rites and ceremonies are all marked by division of work on the basis of sex.

The age factor is equally important, but not so rigid. Six basic age divisions are recognized in the society: (i) 'Infant' from birth to weaning. (ii) 'Child' from weaning to about twelve. (iii) 'Grown-up boys or girls' from twelve until marriage or even a year or two later. (iv) 'Grown-up people' from twenty to about thirty-eight. (v) Middle-aged from about thirty-eight to fifty. (vi) 'Aged', over fifty. Each of these age divisions carries with it a more or less recognized status which determines the nature and quantity of work to be done by the individual in question. Only in the lower strata of the community we find the 'child' burdened with a regular share in domestic and occupational tasks. The children in the families on upper levels may occasionally do odd bits of work, but no responsibility is thrust on them. As they grow up, girls have to take an increasing interest in domestic tasks. 'Grown-up boys and girls' must seriously start 'learning to do things', and are gradually entrusted with some responsibility. However, it is on the 'grown-up people' that the main responsibility of 'doing all the work' and running the affairs of the household rests. The 'middle-aged' people continue to do a part of the practical work; but their time is more occupied by planning, direction and supervision. Depending on their age and personality, the 'aged' continue to supervise and direct the work of the younger members. As they grow older they content themselves merely by giving suggestions and eventually retire from active work or its planning, and devote their time mostly to their grandchildren.

Considerations of general social status also determine the nature

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reason they happen to be interested. In former times, as a general rule, the decisions of the village council were accepted unconditionally. Even to-day none can defy them openly, but often the cases are taken to superior law courts and factionalism within the council is exploited to get its decisions altered or modified.

In the traditional economic structure of the community the following characteristics were important:

(i) Occupation was determined by the caste of the individual.

(ii) Mobility was limited and people had great attachment to the settlement.

(iii) Different castes were integrated into the overall pattern of village economy on the basis of their functional specialization. For their co-operative labour payment was made in kind at the time of harvesting.

(iv) There was barter of occupational services between the various artisan and occupational castes.

It has already been pointed out that in the last few decades the occupational character of caste has undergone some modifications. In place of their traditional occupations people have started accepting other vocations. The traditional system of caste interdependence under which artisan and occupational castes attach themselves to the families of agriculturists is still there. But the attached labourers of untouchable castes are showing signs of discontent and figures for the last ten years show twenty-one migrations of Madiga families to the city. Barbers, washermen and carpenters also openly express preference for a basis of cash payment as that enables them to negotiate and bargain and puts an end to the uncertainty and occasional high-handedness of the employer under the old system. The traditional arrangements involving the barter of occupational services between artisan castes too is now gradually breaking down and is giving place to a basis of cash payment.

In the ritual structure of the community no significant variations have been found. Under the Muslim régime, Hindus co-operated in the public ceremonies of the Muslims. With the spread of the revivalist and reformist ideas of the Arya Samaj greater interest was taken in the Hinduism of the holy books. Preachers invited from the city added to the folklore of the people some fragments of traditional Hindu mythology. However, the regional cults as well as the village cults still continue to retain their former position.

and maintained their own sewage and rubbish carts; provided dust-bins, besides arranging for checking up of frauds under the Food Adulteration Act. Cleaning of public and private latrines, compost and removal of night-soil and sewage water were also some of the important obligations which the major Panchayats had been undertaking. 364

The table below indicates the strength of the sanitary staff, the registrar of births and deaths and other sanitary and conservancy staff provided in some of the sample Panchayats. 463 364

Name of the Village	Sanitary Inspector	Sanitary Mistry	Mid-wife	Registrar	Sweepers	Sewage Cleaners	Rubbish Cartmen	Women Labour	Latrines	Scavengers
Bhimavaram	1	2	...	2	20	2	2	20	508	72
Narsapur	1	3	...	1	20	...	...	...	...	20
Guntakal	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	12	...	39
Tanuku	1	3	1	1	...	...	...	12	400	40
Mandapeta	1	3	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	8
Ramchandrapuram	1	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nuzvid	1	1	1	1	16	1	1	4	120	20
Jaggayapeta	1	1	1	1	20	1	1	6	100	14
Dharmavaram	1	1	1	...	40	...	...	10	100	12
Kadiri	1	1	1	1	20	...	...	10	120	10
Rayadrug	1	3	1	...	...	.	...	1	223	14
Kampli	1	1	1	...	20	...	...	16	88	12
Ganapavaram	1	1	1	1	16	...	...	16	50	4
Peatapadu	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	4	...	...
Undi	1	1	1	...	12	...	...	11	88	6
Achanta	1	1	1	...	16	...	...	6	50	18
Velpur	1	3	1	...	20	...	...	55	285	20
Attili	1	3	1	1	16	2	2	60	100	115
Pamaru	1	1	1	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
Kantaram	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pedana	1	1	1	...	40	...	...	20	40	...
Vuyyuru	1	1	1	...	20	...	...	2	500	20
Parvatipuram	1	1	1	1	20	2	4	20	500	39
Salur	1	3	4	1	40	2	4	...	200	10
Madugula	1	1	1	1	12	...	...	...	100	20
Kasimkot	1	1	1	1	20	...	4	12	200	30
Yellamanchilli	...	1	1	1	10	2	1	1	500	54
Gooty	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	10	300	20
Penukonda	1	1	1	1	30	2	2	...	...	...
Bukkapatnam	1	2	...	1	12	...	...	...	100	...
Nandikotkur	1	1	1	...	35	2	2	2	100	20
Pattikonda	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	10	200	20

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427 zamindari tenant supplies two pairs of bulls, one-eighth goes to the cultivator.
241

In the case of sugarcane, the cultivator gets 1½ shares and the zamindari tenant only one. If the sub-tenant cultivates on contract, the cultivator must give two maunds of jaggery for every 2½ cents of land planted with sugarcane.*

Of the agricultural families, all the males cultivate some land and also work for hire. There are two females, however, who do not cultivate, of whom one lives on charity and the other by working as a coolie.

[423] Of the lands which are called "Sirkar" there is only one kind of ownership and holders of such land are called pattadars.

As regards lands designated "inam" lands there are slight differences. The inamdars pay, instead of the full rent, what are called quit-rents and road-cess.

•463 There are five villagers who combine agriculture with other occupations. One is a blacksmith, the other a potter, the third prepares combs, and two others are dhobis. The sub-tenants mentioned above also do the work of coolies between harvest and sowing time.

243 *Agriculture.*—All dry lands yield only one crop per annum. Wet lands yield two crops. No land yields three crops.

For millets and pulses, the land is ploughed after a shower of rain when it is soft. Generally June or July is seed time. After a time when the plants sprout up the fields are weeded. After that four or five good showers of rain are needed. Then when the corn is ripe, it is cut and piled in bundles. The bundles are trod upon by bulls and the corn drops out.

For paddy the harvest time is November for the first crop, for which seed is sown in June or July; April and May for the second crop, for which seed is sown in December or January. When there is sufficient water the paddy fields are flooded with water and then ploughed till they become miry. Afterwards, green leaf manure (generally kanaga leaves) and animal manure are spread and well trodden in. Before planting paddy is steeped in cow-dung water in pots, which water is renewed every day. After four or five days the plants sprout up and then they are removed from the pots and placed in the prepared fields. After they are thus planted the fields are again flooded with water. But the water is allowed to remain for a day only. The next day it is let out and the fields are allowed to dry for three days when the plants are of some size. From that time onwards till the corn is ripe water is allowed to flow freely on the fields. When it is ripe it is harvested. Then it is cut, heaped in bundles, struck against a bed of rock when the grain falls out which is all collected and taken home.

249 *Sugarcane.*—The land is well ploughed, but unlike paddy is not made miry at first. Long trenches of comparatively little depth are made by means of the ploughshare. Then the field is well manured, and water is let in till it becomes miry. The sugarcane already cut in small pieces is planted in these trenches. No water is let in on that day. After an interval of three days water

[804] *[This must be taken to mean, not the Railway or Bengal maund of 82½ lb., but a local maund of 26 lb. very nearly. The rent in jaggery is therefore nearly one ton per acre, worth about Rs. 150.—Ed.]

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242 The people think that these are all visitations of goddesses and [782] accordingly offer a sheep, or pig, or a white hen or cock as a sacrifice.

Cattle diseases—Kurama.—The ox or cow when it suffers from 232 this refuses food, shivers, suffers as from cold. *Domma*—Shivering, swelling of the stomach and purging. *Chalidomma*—Swelling starts at some portion of the body, extends to the neck and proves fatal. *Nalupu jadyam*—Purging and dying. *Gundasala*—The heart bursts in this. *Musara*—Ulceration all over and refusal of food.

Medicines are prepared out of omum, assafœtida, turmeric, pepper, onions and like articles and some medicinal herbs found in woods and forests.

Up till now no assistance has been given by the Agricultural department.

313 Fuel is obtained from the jungle near by. Wood for building and implements is obtained from the Avulapalle forest, a magnificent forest abounding in good game, belonging to the zamindari itself. The distance from here is about a dozen miles.

The village.—The depressed castes live in circular thatched huts. 342 Everything is dirty inside and out. The dwelling is circular consisting of but one room which serves for all purposes. Generally the diameter of the house is about 22 feet.

There are thirty houses in the caste village; three are terraced, none tiled, one earthen-roofed, all the rest thatched.

[437] The ryots occasionally exchange lands to get their lands continuous. Field huts are used only at harvest time.

● 463 *Subsidiary industries.*—There are no weavers at all now. [276] Handspinning was once practised when cotton was raised locally, but abandoned about thirty-five years ago, because cotton is no 465 longer raised.

Crafts.	Working time.	Earnings.	Remarks.
Blacksmith ...	About 75 per cent.	Rs. 40 or Rs. 50 per annum.	He does not work every month. It is at harvest times that he gets manuls called *thirijanun* and *mera*. These amount to about three or four putties; 1 putti = 160 Madras measures [i.e., 400 lb.—Ed.]
Dommara ...	Almost always.	Rs. 15 or Rs. 20 per annum.	Makes wooden combs.
Potter	Do.	Rs. 70 or Rs. 80 per annum.	Not only sells to others, but also gets the same manuls as the blacksmith from the ryots at harvest time.

438 *Village trade.*—Wood required for agricultural and industrial purposes is purchased in the forests belonging to the zamindari above mentioned. Iron implements are purchased in Punganur, or Chouldepalli.

The nearest market is Kandur, a village 3 miles off.

Whatever is grown in the village and required for household purposes is retained by the villagers. The rest is all sold.

361 There is a local road which passes by this village running from 489 Somala to Kalikiri. This local road connects with the trunk road running from Punganur to Chandragiri. The nearest railway

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311 *Land*—

	ACS.
Wet land	141·30
Dry land	304·29
Land watered by wells	52·19
Common waste	451·35
Pastures other than waste	898·14
Woods and forests	

312 There are two tanks, *Kodipalli cheruvu* and *Varadarajulu kunta*. The first is sufficiently deep though not extensive, and the water stored in the tank is sufficient for two crops. The surplus water is allowed to collect in another small pond. There are fourteen wells, all built round with stone; and one stream when in flood affords an additional water-supply.

311 651 *Classification of lands—According to assessment*—

Wet lands.		Dry lands.	
Rates.	Acres.	Rates.	Acres.
Rs. 4-0-0	18·38	Re. 1	304·29
Rs. 5, Rs. 5-8-0	32·38		
Rs. 6-0-0	21·24		
Rs. 7-0-0	20·35		
Rs. 8-0-0	7·37		
Rs. 9-0-0	1·10		

311 *Occupation of land.*—Of the dry land 109·02 acres, of the wet land 31·50 acres are cultivated by the landowners, the remainder, viz., 32·38 acres of wet land, and 272·79 acres of dry land are sublet and cultivated by tenants.

423 There are about 25 non-cultivating landowners. Some hold Government posts, about 12 are engaged in trade; there are between 30 and 40 tenants who own no land, and the agricultural workers who neither own nor rent land number men 113, women 47.

There are two kinds of ownership, inam and patta. All sirkar lands are held by pattadars. The area of holdings of inam ownership is 127·38 acres. The rest of the cultivable land is held by pattadars. Inamdars pay only quit-rent and road-cess.

There are only about half a dozen pattadars. One family alone owns 97·15 acres of wet and 143·14 acres of dry land.

427 *Rents.*—There are no cultivators who pay a money rent. Everything is paid in kind. The usual arrangement is that the cultivator himself supplies all that is necessary for cultivation, and out of the produce one-half goes to the landowner and the other to the cultivator. There are no other conditions of contract. But when sugarcane is cultivated the landowner gets only one-fourth of the produce.

The whole land revenue comes to Rs. 1,034·7-0, out of which the revenue from the inam lands alone amounts to Rs. 154-3-0.

463 Some of the villagers are engaged in trade side by side with agriculture. Others are potters, dhobis, in addition to being cultivators. Some hold Government posts. Some are contractors.

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231 Horses are fed on grass and gram chiefly, sometimes also on oats and bran.

237 *Manuring.*—Nearly 90 per cent of the cow-dung is used as manure, the rest being used for household purposes.

Almost all the cattle urine is allowed to run to waste except trifling quantities used for household purposes.

241 The green manure chiefly used is the leaf of the Kanaga tree. Generally all kinds of green leaf are held to be good manure. This is obtained chiefly from the surrounding jungle, licences being obtained on payment of a fee to the Maharaja's Government. Sometimes topes are planted for the purpose.

No other kinds of vegetable manure are largely used. In some cases, for instance in the cultivation of sugarcane, the refuse left after the oil has been squeezed out from the fruit of the Kanaga tree is used.

232 Insect-pests and cattle diseases and the method of combating them are the same as in Thettupalli.

361 *The village.*—The village occupies an area of 9·36 acres. The tendency is for the members of one caste to congregate together. For example all the Muhammadans live in one part of the village together. The Komatis live exclusively in one street.

342 The depressed classes live in dirty and squalid huts of but one room.

There are in the caste village 85 thatched houses, none tiled, 63 terraced; in the Paracheri, only thatched houses 31 in number. There are no gardens adjoining any of the dwellings. The fields lie adjoining and surrounding the village. The most distant field lies about three-quarters of a mile off.

There is a great demand for additional building sites.

435 If land is obtained direct from the Government a fee of ½ anna per square yard is charged, payable on sale. If dry land is acquired for the purpose from pattadars, the value ranges from Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 per acre. It is only near this village that the value is so low. Further up the value goes up to nearly Rs. 300 or Rs. 350.

463 *Subsidiary industries.*—There are only two pariahs who weave at all. They use two handlooms.

[288] No hand spinning is practised. Yarn is bought ready made. The other crafts are—

Crafts.	Average time.	Earnings per year.	Remarks.
Blacksmith.	The major part of the day.	About Rs. 300 a year.	He receives customary mamûls. At harvest time gets about 10 puttis of paddy. There are also inams in his name.
Potter ...	The major part of the day and almost throughout the year.	About Rs. 100 a year.	Do.
Carpenter ...	For the major part of the year.	About Rs. 150 a year.	No mamûls.

438 *Village trade—Purchase of commodities by the village.*—Wood for implements is got from the forests already mentioned. Iron

1 [See category 116, pp. 99-100.—Analyst]